

## ***DISCLAIMER***

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*The ideas and opinions presented in this volume are the complete responsibility of the individual authors and are not endorsed by Los Alamos National Laboratory or the Department of Energy.*

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## ***Workshop Directors' Foreword***

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*In the decade of the 1990s we witnessed great changes in world affairs. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the world's general disillusionment with communism changed it dramatically for the better. We witnessed the rise of the United States to unprecedented influence in world affairs because of its unchallenged strength – militarily, economically, and politically. The continued and accelerated pace of scientific discovery and technological innovation transformed how we live and how we defend ourselves. Democracy and free enterprise began to offer more opportunity to a greater number of people.*

*However, these rapid changes and the accompanying opportunities were by no means equally distributed and many people did not share in the transformation. The divide between the haves and have-nots grew larger in many parts of the world. Long simmering animosities between different ethnic and religious groups boiled over in places such as the Balkans and Rwanda. The rise of U.S. power and leadership was admired, but it was also feared and resented in parts of the world. The disgruntled turned increasingly to asymmetric warfare to make their case. Terrorism as a means of voicing discontent grew. Hence, technology, so vital for economic development, also made it possible for even a few malevolent individuals to have global reach and impact. Many nations that attained independence or were created by departing colonial powers started to fail. They became havens for terrorists, criminals, and mercenaries.*

*To understand the new national and international security challenges in this transformed and fast changing world a forum called “International Security in the New Millennium” was created in January 2000 at Los Alamos National Laboratory. Its purpose was to invite experts to lead scholarly discussions on a wide range of topics impacting security, technology, environment and development. The idea of holding focused workshops that would further immerse the Los Alamos staff in these issues started to jell in the spring of 2001. Our lunchtime conversations kept drifting to stories of mercenary armies trained in Afghanistan and fighting in the Balkans, Chechnya, and Kashmir. We kept asking the questions ¾ what is the end goal of such fighting machines? What motivates them into undertaking suicide missions? Where do they get their weapons from and who finances them? We concluded that the best way to begin to understand the “who, what, and why” of terrorism was to invite scholars who had thought about and lived with terrorism. Thus it was decided to hold the workshop, **Confronting Terrorism – 2002**, and planning began well before the tragic events of September 11, 2001.*

*The goal of the workshop was to bring an international perspective to this problem. Scientists at the Los Alamos National Laboratory were motivated to convoke a scholarly discussion on issues of modern terrorism and lessons that can be learned from people and areas in the world that have lived under terrorism for decades. The national tragic events of September 11, 2001, further justified holding an international workshop on the subject of terrorism to understand and incorporate into our analyses the broadest and*

*deepest cause and consequences. The unfortunate events of September 11 had brought the problem home and created a new sense of urgency: a mission.*

*The first four days of the workshop and panel discussions were followed by forty eight of the participants, including nine speakers, playing a simulated game that involved international negotiations following clashes between two countries and an ethnic group sandwiched between the two that is striving for independence from both. An extreme urgency to the negotiations was created by the release of a bio-agent with fatal consequences for both humans and livestock and which presumably had already dispersed widely. The goal of this exercise was to provide scientists with a better understanding of international negotiations, policy, and bio-threat.*

*Two thoughts best summarize the meeting. The first was by our guests from Ireland and Israel who repeatedly reminded us that it was at Los Alamos National Laboratory that a new paradigm for security and deterrence was coined in 1945 and the world that has been confronting terrorism for the last three decades is now looking up to us for the next big “discovery” that will remove this scourge. Their experience indicates that the solution will not just be a new and more powerful weapon or bigger and better armies but will require removing poverty and providing hope and opportunities through constructive community involvement and dialogue. So the challenge is much bigger this time. The second is the question <sup>34</sup> what turns a four year old, who looks at the world with hope, love and expectations, into a [suicide] terrorist and an indiscriminate killing machine by age fifteen? There were no easy answers to this question. We hope that the global community does choose to address these issues and that there is more optimism towards formulating answers by the time we pick up these threads at the next workshop*  
**Confronting Terrorism - CT2004.**

*There is no doubt that the success of the workshop was due to the very personal involvement and response of both the speakers and the attendees. The passion and intensity of the discussions made the effort worthwhile and rewarding. Many new friendships were forged and many new avenues for research were outlined. The highest tribute we can pay to Prof. Ehud Sprinzak, who passed away on 11 November 2002, is to help make the world a safer place for our children to live in peace and freedom.*

*We would like to acknowledge the hard work and support of many of our colleagues in making this workshop a success. Many thanks to Babetta Marrone, Grant Heiken, Giday WoldeGabriel, Mario Perez, Sarah Michalak, Lisa Hale, Merle Lefkoff, Chad Olinger, Jennifer Rudnick, Norman Johnson, Veronique Longmire and Michael Warren for sparing their time and collaborating in designing the game scenario and facilitating the game playing and to Gloria Sharp for help in designing the poster. The workshop would not have taken place without the admirable organization, patience and attention to details provided by Celine Apodaca, Stacie Bird and Mabel Willaman.*

*December 2002*

#### **Directors**

Rajan Gupta

Houston T. Hawkins

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## ***Editors' Foreword***

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*The burgeoning of homegrown, state-sponsored and transnational terrorism in the recent decades has opened up this field to important studies, theoretical analysis, statistical considerations and reflections on the impact on related issues such as security, privacy and civil rights of individuals.*

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*The workshop, **Confronting Terrorism - 2002**, was held on March 25 through 29, 2002 at Los Alamos National Laboratory, Los Alamos, New Mexico, with the participation of thirty internationally renowned speakers with the goal of assisting the Laboratory in "developing the next generation of broad strategic thinkers." More than 150 participants from the community and staff scientists attended the full week of presentations. A core group of 48 were selected to participate in a hypothetical terrorist game scenario on the last day. This workshop is the first in a series of workshops and seminars aimed at further developing the next generation of strategic thinkers.*

*The results of this workshop were very positive and the talks outstanding. There was consensus that the proceedings should be made available to a wider audience. We have attempted to capture the spirit, discussions, and talks presented in this volume. We very gratefully acknowledge the support of the Director's Office, of the Nonproliferation and International Security Division and of the Theoretical Division at Los Alamos National Laboratory for supporting this event and for facilitating the publication of the proceedings. We are also indebted to the many collaborators and facilitators for their help in making the workshop a success. We are especially grateful to Ms. Mildred Lujan who transcribed the presentations and assisted us with the overall compilation and editing of these proceedings.*

*Our goal in making these proceedings available to a broad audience is to contribute to and support the on-going national debate on the issue of terrorism and national security. We are hopeful that the ideas presented here can stimulate a deep and honest dialogue among entities involved in clarifying and solving some of these important issues.*

*December 2002*

***Editors***

*Rajan Gupta*

*Mario R. Perez*